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On the PAY and INCOME of the BRITISH SOLDIER, as compared with the RATE of AGRICULTURAL WAGES. By MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER MURRAY TULLOCH, K.C.B.

[Read before the Statistical Society, 19th May, 1863.]

NEARLY three years ago, the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the system of recruiting in the army, of which I was a Member, concluded its recommendations by a suggestion that, in order to prevent any misrepresentation on the part of those who were employed to procure recruits, a fair and full statement of the conditions and advantages attaching to service in the army should be drawn up and published by authority in the shape of a small pamphlet for general circulation throughout the country.

This suggestion originated in the belief that when due consideration was given to the advantages enjoyed by soldiers over persons of the same age among the agricultural population, they would be found sufficient to induce a larger proportion of that class to embrace the profession of arms. The idea was not altogether a new one, for Lord Herbert had about a year before, at an agricultural meeting over which he presided, expressed a similar expectation, and few men of his rank had better opportunities of contrasting the relative position of both classes.

Deeply, indeed, is it to be regretted that the premature death of this statesman prevented him from putting upon record, as Secretary of State for War, the facts illustrative of his views on the subject, in an official form, that the British peasant in determining upon a step of such importance as enlistment, might have some more trustworthy assurance of the advantage to be expected from it than is likely to be obtained through the interested medium of a recruiting serjeant, and might be induced to enter the army—not by those vague expectations which too readily present themselves to an untutored mind, and generally end in disappointment,—but from a firm conviction that men, who devote themselves to the service of their country, are not likely to be less liberally dealt with in the end, than those who continue to earn their livelihood by the more toilsome, though less hazardous occupation of agricultural labour.

Owing to repeated reductions in the army since the date of that Report, there has been so little pressure for recruits that no official statement, such as was then suggested, has been put forward; nor am I aware whether it is ever likely to be so. As however much infor-

mation, extending over a series of years, has been collected by the Poor Law Board respecting the Wages and Expenditure of Agricultural Labourers,* I am induced, from that source, assisted by my personal recollection of the advantages usually enjoyed by our troops, to institute the present inquiry, in the hope that it may at least prove useful in correcting a prevailing impression, that the British soldier is inadequately paid as compared with the mass of the population from which he is selected.

If the remuneration of the soldier consisted of pay alone, the proposed comparison would not have involved much difficulty, but the advantages enjoyed by him are derived from so many sources, and it is so difficult to assign its precise value to each, that the utmost to be hoped for is an approximation to the truth,—sufficiently accurate, however, to warrant the conclusion that, even on the very lowest scale, the income of the soldier is not below the usual average of agricultural wages.

With the exception of those who have perused the valuable analysis by Mr. Purdy on the subject, few, I believe, are aware how very low the average of the daily wages really is, or that it does not exceed the following sums per week in each of the three kingdoms:—

| | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| In England and Wales | 11 | 6½ |
| „ Scotland | 12 | 11½ |
| „ Ireland | 7 | 1½ |

Had the number of Agricultural labourers in each of the three kingdoms been equal, the average of the whole would have amounted to 10s. 6½*d.*, but as the highest rates prevail in Scotland, where the agricultural population does not exceed 200,000, while about thrice that number in Ireland earn no more than the lowest rate, the necessary correction for the proportion in receipt of each of the three rates, after adding the extra harvest pay, reduces the average throughout the kingdom to 10s. per week, as the wages of each agriculturist fully employed, out of which he has to provide food, lodging, clothing, medicines, and medical aid, as well as those contributions to benefit societies, which must be maintained if he is to be kept independent of parish support, during sickness or want of employment.

The marked difference in these averages, in the three kingdoms respectively, will serve in some measure to explain the superior facility with which soldiers can be raised in Ireland as compared with England; for the average wages of the day labourer in the former, being considerably lower than the pay of the soldier, the prospect of

* See the interesting summaries by Mr. Purdy, read at the meetings of this Society, on 21st May, 1861, and 15th April, 1862.

improving his condition is likely to afford a sufficient inducement to enlist. On the other hand, the higher rate of wages in Scotland, indicated by the above average, at once accounts for the difficulty experienced of late years in keeping up those Scotch and Highland corps, which in the times of the old American and Peninsula wars could sometimes be raised in a day. I am aware that by such conclusions, I am perhaps dispelling some of the illusions, in which non-military writers are prone to indulge, as to the popularity of a war having an influence in filling our ranks, but it is better perhaps to do so, than to trust too much to the effect of enthusiasm, when it is borne in mind that, popular as was the Russian war at its commencement, the army was 47,000 men under establishment when it was brought to a conclusion, even though very high bounties were offered to induce recruits to come forward.

One of the chief difficulties in bringing the wages of the agricultural labourer into comparison with the income of a soldier, is that the latter varies materially, according to the arm to which he belongs, and the length of his service coupled with the good conduct pay to which he may be entitled; the extent to which his income may be increased by promotion will for the present be left entirely out of view, and the comparison restricted to the case of a common agricultural labourer enlisting in any of the following arms of the service, for which no special qualifications beyond a certain height and an average physical development are required.

Such a recruit would receive weekly, including one penny per day of beer money, which may in fact be considered as part of the pay:—

| | Per Week. | Daily. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | <i>s. d.</i> | <i>s. d.</i> |
| If in infantry of the line | 7 7 | 1 1 |
| „ foot guards..... | 8 2 | 1 2 |
| „ cavalry and military train | 9 4 | 1 4 |
| „ artillery | 9 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ | 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| „ horse artillery | 10 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ | 1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Average of the whole | 8 2 | 1 2 |

This average is founded on the numbers in receipt of each of these rates of pay as shown by the army estimates for the year 1862-3, adjusted on the same principle as the average of agricultural wages; but lest any question should arise as to the admission of that principle, owing to some of the higher rates of pay being partly intended to cover slight additional outlay for equipments, I shall be content to adopt the very lowest rate, viz., that of infantry only, for my comparison, being satisfied that when the other advantages of

the soldier are taken into consideration, it will be sufficient to warrant the conclusion I propose to draw from it.

Among the first of these advantages is that of being entitled to add to the above rates of pay the following additional amounts for length of service combined with good conduct, viz.:—

| | | | d. | |
|------------------------------|--|--|----|----------|
| After 3 years' service | | | 1 | per day. |
| „ 8 „ | | | 2 | „ |
| „ 13 „ | | | 3 | „ |
| „ 18 „ | | | 4 | „ |
| „ 23 „ | | | 5 | „ |
| „ 28 „ | | | 6 | „ |

Though the terms upon which the soldier becomes entitled to this good-conduct pay, are merely, that no offence, involving more than a week's confinement to barracks, shall have been recorded against him in the course of the year. I am aware of the possibility of some failing to fulfil even that moderate condition; and shall, therefore, assume the number who attain this additional pay, and the amount actually drawn by them, as the criterion for estimating its additional value instead of the nominal rate. On this principle I find that for a total of 126,909 rank and file, exclusive of those serving in India, the total good-conduct pay drawn according to the last estimates, was 126,835*l.*, or as nearly as possible 1*l.* a-year by each soldier; thus showing an average addition under this head of 4½*d.* per week, and raising the income under the several heads of pay, beer money, and good-conduct allowance, to within a fraction of 8*s.* a-week, for the lowest class of infantry.

But, besides this, the soldier is provided gratuitously with clothing, lodging, fuel, light, medical aid, and also with food at a rate greatly below its cost to the public, of which items it is necessary to estimate the full value before bringing his pay into comparison with the wages of an agriculturist, who has no such advantages.

In regard to the clothing there is little difficulty, because he receives either the following supplies, which are sufficient for all his wants, or their equivalent in money, viz.:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|----|-----|
| One tunic, or | - | 18 | 6 |
| „ pair of cloth trousers, annually | - | 9 | 6 |
| Two „ boots „ | - | 17 | - |
| One „ serge trousers, biennially, 7 <i>s.</i> | } | 5 | 6 |
| „ chaco „ 4 <i>s.</i> | | | |
| And quadrennially a grey great coat, value 23 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> , } being for one year | } | 5 | 10½ |
| | | | |
| | 2 | 16 | 4½ |

The soldier has no longer to pay for alteration of clothing; and the supply has of late years been on so ample a scale, and of such excellent quality, that he has nothing to provide except small repairs occasionally, and to keep up his stock of under-clothing.

According to this estimate, then, the value of what the soldier receives in clothing is equal to about 1s. 1*d.* per week. In comparing his income with that of the agriculturist, however, I am aware that this item may be liable to some exception, in so far as the dress of the latter may be of a coarser and less expensive material, and the nature of his occupation does not prevent an extent of repairs which would be quite inadmissible in a regiment; but even supposing that one half of the amount, which the soldier's clothing actually costs the Government, be assumed as the proper equivalent in the proposed comparison, that will be found quite sufficient to turn the scale in his favour; and is certainly the lowest expense which the agriculturist is likely to incur in providing himself with the secondary description of clothing he generally uses.

The value of the soldier's lodging, including fuel and light, straw for bedding, tear and wear of furniture, and use of cooking utensils, it is more difficult to estimate. If taken according to the actual cost of barracks, and of the supplies in kind issued by the barrack-master, the charge would be very heavy indeed; but, as the number in each barrack is constantly varying, any calculation founded upon that basis might prove erroneous; the amount which Government pays when the accommodation and supplies are provided by publicans or private individuals under the Billeting Act, would probably be much nearer the mark, viz., 4*d.* per night; but even supposing half that rate only to be assumed as the fair charge (and this corresponds very nearly to what Mr. Purdy has stated such accommodation to cost for single men), I should be warranted in assuming 1s. 2*d.* per week as the equivalent for lodging and barrack supplies, which the soldier does not pay for, but which the agricultural labourer has to provide out of his wages.

To the privilege of being provided with medicines, medical comforts, and attendance when sick, without reference to the expense which may be incurred, it is also difficult to assign a specific value, when the soldier's treatment takes place through the medium of medical officers (staff of regimental), seeing that much of the expense which it involves may arise less from the actual extent of sickness than from the circumstance that a large medical establishment has to be kept up at all times in every regiment to provide for the contingencies of warfare, or the prevalence of epidemic disease, and it is impossible to decide how much of the general charge incurred for these objects would be fairly applicable to such treatment as an agricultural labourer might only require occasionally;

but an approximation may readily be found in the rate at which Government contracts with medical practitioners for attendance on military detachments stationed beyond the distance at which they would be treated by the medical officers of their regiment, viz., $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $2d.$ per man per week, which will accordingly be assumed as the value of the privilege referred to.

The soldier has also a considerable advantage over the agricultural labourer by the greater part of his food being provided for him at a price below its market value; but before attempting to estimate how much this privilege may be worth, it appears necessary to indicate the reasons for such a mode of provisioning him, instead of the simpler one of allowing what would be a sufficient amount of pay, and permitting him to expend it on such supplies as he thought proper. Experience has shown that, were the soldier left entirely to his own will in such matters, more might be expended on drink than on food, and that the latter might not always be of the quality best adapted to maintain him in health and efficiency. To prevent this, it is the practice in the army that, whatever the pay may be, a certain proportion must be devoted to the purchase of three-fourths of a lb. of meat at home, or 1 lb. abroad (bone included), and 1 lb. of bread at all stations daily; but as these items of diet vary considerably in price in different parts of the kingdom, and on some foreign stations cost even more than all his pay, it has been necessary, in order to leave a sufficient surplus for the other expenditure of the soldier, that the stoppage for bread and meat should never exceed $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ at home, or $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day abroad, the difference being in all cases made good by the Government. The lesser amount charged abroad is, however, more apparent than real, in so far as in consequence of the soldier receiving no beer money there, the surplus of his income, after defraying the cost of bread and meat, is precisely the same as at home.

So far as regards the cost of bread and meat on foreign stations, or in the field, it does not appear necessary to enter into any minute calculations of value, because, on the average of all, it is much above the stoppage made from the soldier, and, even were it otherwise, the difference could scarcely be considered an advantage to him, seeing that he could only have it when resident at a station where many of what he has been accustomed to consider the necessaries of life are proportionately dear. In regard to the bread and meat at home, there is no such difficulty however; what he may have then to pay for it below the market price is clearly so much gain, and the extent of the benefit to him may be inferred from the circumstance that, even for the year 1862-63, though one in which these articles of diet have been lower than usual, the Army Estimates show that the total expenditure upon the supplies by the Government has been 770,239*l.*, while the

stoppages for them have only realized 607,924*l.*; the difference of 162,315*l.*, divided among about 80,000 soldiers serving in the United Kingdom, clearly indicates that, exclusive of any advantage which they may derive by having their bread and meat contracted for in large quantities, instead of having to pay the shop price, each soldier gains absolutely to the extent of 2*l.* a year, or about 1½*d.* per day. Nor can this ever be balanced by the price in some years being lower than the stoppage, because, in that case, the soldier's interests would be protected by the excess being placed to his credit.

The soldier has also the benefit of receiving a quarter of a pound of bread daily at the contract price, which is usually one farthing a pound below that paid by agricultural labourers. This is to improve his morning and evening meal, and the cost of the tea, coffee, and sugar required for the same purpose is not only reduced by being purchased for him in large quantities, but, as it is under official inspection, the quality is much superior to what can usually be had elsewhere at such rates.

Passing over these minor advantages, the value of which it may be difficult to estimate, I shall at least be justified in assuming the reduced cost of the ration of bread and meat alone at 9½*d.* per week, making the total income of the soldier, as contrasted with the 10*s.* per week of agricultural wages, to be as follows:—

| | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | |
|---|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Pay and beer money | 7 | 7 | per week |
| Good-conduct pay | — | 4½ | „ |
| Clothing, say even at half its cost | — | 6½ | „ |
| Barracks, fuel, and light | 1 | 2 | „ |
| Medical aid | — | 2 | „ |
| Excess of rations beyond stoppage | — | 9½ | „ |
| Total | 10 | 7½ | |

Thus, it seems clearly established, that even an infantry soldier receives either in money or in money's worth about 7½*d.* per week in excess of an agricultural labourer; and if this superiority holds good in regard to the worst paid arm of the service, and the lowest rank of that arm, it must necessarily extend to all others; therefore any calculations with respect to them would be superfluous.

This total of 10*s.* 7½*d.* includes only what the soldier receives when serving at home, but at some foreign stations additional allowances are granted by the local legislatures to the following extent in addition to pay, viz.:—

| | <i>d.</i> | |
|---|-----------|---|
| At Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia | 6 | a-day. |
| „ Van Dieman's Land, Western Australia, and New Zealand | 3½ | per day. |
| „ the Cape and Natal | 1½ | „ |
| In the East Indies and China | 1½ | „ at a half, or 2½ at a full batta station. |

Arrangements are also made by the Indian Government, by which the soldier is enabled to obtain about a pint of English beer daily, for a sum not exceeding its price in this country, the cost of the difference being made good out of the local revenues.

According to the last estimates, the proportion in receipt of one or other of these local allowances, is about one-half of the whole army, but owing to their varying amounts I shall not attempt to add any of them to the general average of pay, more especially as some are intended to cover expenses incidental to the stations where they are granted, and cannot, therefore, be considered in every case as a virtual addition.

In comparing the aggregate pay and advantages of the soldier with the wages of the agricultural labourer, it must not be forgotten that the pay of the former is continuous, and that he is equally sure of it whether sick or well, whether present or absent, whether labour is in demand or the reverse, while the wages of the latter are liable to frequent fluctuations from all these contingencies, and he has no chance, without a total cessation of his income, of enjoying two or three months' leave of absence in every year, as the soldier does, retaining his full pay during the whole time.

It requires equally to be kept in view, that whenever the soldier has to exercise any trade or calling for the public service, he is entitled to an allowance under the head of "working pay," proportioned to the extent and importance of his labour, and the time it occupies. For instance, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, and blacksmiths are in frequent demand for the Engineer Department, bakers and butchers for the Commissariat Corps, carters, wheelwrights, drivers, and harness-makers for the Military Train, saddlers and farriers for the Cavalry and Artillery, most of whom receive on such occasions a working pay, according to their rating as artificers or labourers, of from 1s. 3d. to 9d. a-day, thus raising their income, in many cases, to double the ordinary pay of an infantry soldier; in the Sappers and Miners it is often much more, even for a private, if an intelligent workman. Those employed in altering or repairing the clothing or boots of a regiment, in making or repairing the roads beyond the limits of the barracks or cantonments, or on fortifications (elsewhere than in the field), all earn working pay in addition, and the same principle applies, though in a minor degree, to those engaged as officers' servants, or employed in the instruction, civil or professional, of other members of the corps. Indeed it must never be lost sight of, that the duties which may be exacted in return for the pay of a soldier at the rates before quoted, are those only which relate to drill and discipline; and that for all involving extra labour, with the exception of what are termed fatigue duties, he receives additional remuneration.

This is one reason why I have not attempted to bring the pay of soldiers into comparison with the wages of ordinary mechanics, because, to do so effectually, I must in justice have included, not the mere amount of military pay, but what some may be receiving for the extra services just referred to, the exact amount of which I have no means of ascertaining. Any extension of the comparison to the wages of persons engaged in trade or manufactures would have been equally open to objection, as these are so liable to be affected by over-production at one time, and stagnation of employment at another, of which we have so remarkable an instance at present in the cotton trade, but by carefully restricting my results to those deduced from the wages of agricultural labourers, the class generally most certain of finding employment when capable for and disposed to seek it, I trust I have avoided all such objections, besides confining myself to a class who unquestionably afford the best raw material for soldiers. Indeed, if a sufficient supply of them could at all times be obtained, we should probably seek for none other, as constant exposure has, in most cases, hardened their constitutions against every vicissitude of the weather, and labour at the spade and the plough produced that muscular development which renders the weight of a musket or knapsack no very serious burden in a long march.

Supposing, however, that it had been considered necessary to extend the comparison to the mechanic and manufacturing classes, there is an advantage which the soldier enjoys over them as well as over the mass of the population engaged in daily labour that would, I apprehend, fully counterbalance any temporary superiority in their income, viz., that of being entitled, after 21 or 24 years, according to the arm of the service to which he belongs, to a pension for life, averaging about 9*d.* per day, even if he have attained no higher rank than that of private; indeed, in the case of a non-commissioned officer, it is often of double that amount. How valuable is this expectancy, may be inferred from the fact that the estimates for the year 1862-63 show the total number on the pension list, for all causes and at all rates, to be 59,405, to whom there is paid yearly 1,081,956*l.* Many of these men, too, who have suffered from wounds or disabilities contracted on service have been pensioned much below 21 years' service, so that the average age on leaving the army is not usually above 39 or 40. The annuity value of such a pension, even of 9*d.* a-day only, cannot be less than 180*l.*, which I estimate as equivalent to an additional payment of 4*d.* for every day the soldier has served in the army. I am aware that by taking as the basis of this comparison the very lowest rate of pay which a soldier is likely to receive, I lay myself open to the objection of understating his advantages, as there is no doubt that an agricultural labourer might, by

enlisting in the Cavalry, Artillery, or Military Train, receive about 1s. 4d. a-day of pay and beer money, with ultimately from 3d. to 4d. of good-conduct pay, making, with 4d. a-day as the prospective value of his pension, a total of 2s. per day; but I am so strongly impressed with the necessity for avoiding any appearance of exaggeration in a question of this kind, that I would rather incur the objection alluded to, than induce men to enlist by holding out prospects which might never be fully realized.

Though I have thus given in detail the principal advantages enjoyed by the soldier himself, the comparison would be incomplete if I did not briefly advert to those which his wife and family enjoy by the custom of the service, provided his marriage has taken place with the commanding officer's consent, and in a proportion not exceeding 8 for every 100 soldiers serving at home or in the colonies, or 12 for every 100 serving in the East Indies. In that case the wife, if abroad, is entitled to two-thirds of a man's ration, and his children to a third or half a ration, according to age; being equivalent to a money allowance of about 4d. per day for a wife, and from 2d. to 3d. for each child. This boon, however, does not extend to home stations; the allowance there is restricted to 2d. per day for each family, to provide lodgings, when suitable and separate accommodation cannot be had in barracks. These allowances are entirely gratuitous on the part of the Government, no service whatever being exacted in return. Medical aid is also afforded, and the children are educated at the regimental schools at a mere nominal charge, being only 2d. per month for one child, 1½d. for two, and 1d. each, for three. These allowances and advantages may be considered of trifling moment, but as, in no other profession, are the wives and children paid as well as the husband, unless for work performed, it is a feature requiring notice in any comparison of this kind, more especially as, when the family is large, the expense attending their support and conveyance from place to place, is quite as great as that of the soldier himself, so that the public has to pay double—a sufficient reason for the restriction on the numbers permitted to marry in the army.

When all these extra allowances are taken into consideration, as well as those for educational and religious purposes, marching money, &c., which involve details of too extensive a character to be discussed within our present limits, it will not perhaps excite surprise that, though the nominal pay of an infantry soldier is only 1s. a-day, there is expended on his behalf nearly double that amount.

In working out this comparison, no one ought to be more sensible than myself how very different in some respects is the life of the British soldier, exposed to all the risks of warfare and of service in

foreign climates, compared with that of one who has seldom to move beyond the limits of his parish; but if these risks will admit of an equivalent, I think it may be found in the soldier's exemption from daily toil, and from the harrassing cares which the constant struggle for subsistence for himself and family usually involve, coupled with the pension he is almost certain of attaining if he continue in the service beyond the ten or twelve years of his first engagement; and I trust that no apology, therefore, is required for comparing military pay with agricultural wages, though the former involves so many risks which do not in any way attend the latter.

The result of Mr. Purdy's investigation, however, having shown that within the last quarter of a century very considerable improvement has taken place in the rates of agricultural wages, it may prove an interesting feature of our inquiry to ascertain whether the improvement in the pay and condition of the soldier has fairly kept pace with this, and that he is not likely to be left behind in the progress which the agricultural labourer seems at length making towards a more comfortable livelihood. For this purpose it is only necessary to refer to the numerous warrants which have been passed since 1836 for the benefit of the army.

In that year the pay and beer money were, as now, 1*s.* 1*d.* per day, but the soldier was then subject to a stoppage of 6*d.* at home, and 5*d.* on foreign stations, for the same quantity of bread and meat as he now obtains for 4½*d.* or 3½*d.* respectively; thus virtually creating an addition of 1½*d.* per day to his income. In those times, too, he had to provide a complete equipment of necessaries out of his bounty on enlistment, whereas now he is entitled to them free of cost, and has only to keep up the supply out of his pay. Recently he has also been allowed an additional pair of trousers and boots, and been relieved from all expense attending the first alteration of his clothing; a grant of 1*d.* per day has also been made to the ten best marksmen in every company, and 2*d.* to the ten best in every regiment. The right to good-conduct pay now commences after three years, and increases by a penny a-day at the end of every fifth year; whereas, prior to 1836, the soldier received no increase till after 14 years' service, and then it was limited to 2*d.* per day. The soldier's pension, too, which in 1833 had, for service alone, been reduced to 6*d.* per day, was raised to 8*d.* for the same period, with the further privilege of adding a portion of his good-conduct pay to pension, so as to make the amount usually received by a private about 9*d.* a-day on an average. The pay of the serjeants and other non-commissioned officers above that rank has also been raised about 2*d.* per day, and a sum of 4,400*l.* a-year distributed among them in annuities of from 10*l.* to 20*l.* a-year each, in addition to the ordinary pension, also about 650*l.* a-year in annuities to men of any

rank, who have received the Victoria Cross. Three gratuities of 15*l.*, 10*l.*, and 5*l.* each a-year are also granted to the most deserving men of every corps annually, with a medal for long service and good conduct.

The effect of all these improvements, present and prospective, cannot be estimated at less than an increase of 25 per cent. in the pay or other advantages of the soldier, as compared with his position in the year 1835 or 1836, which appears to present a fair contrast to the rise in agricultural wages, as given by Mr. Purdy, for the same period, viz :—

| | Interval in Years. | Weekly Increase. | Increase per Cent. in the interval. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---|
| For England and Wales, 1837-60 | 23 | <i>s. d.</i> 1 3 | 12·1 |
| „ Scotland, { 1835 } 1860 | 20 | 3 9½ | 49·5 |
| „ Ireland, 1844-60 | 16 | 2 7 | 57·4 |

Thus, the increase to the soldier has been, so far as regards England and Wales, nearly double what has fallen to the lot of the agricultural labourer; and though it is considerably below that remarkable increase which has taken place in wages, both in Scotland and Ireland during the same period, yet if the proper correction be made for the much more limited number of the population in these two countries, compared with England and Wales, as must be done to obtain a general average for the whole kingdom, that average will be found below 25 per cent. It may, therefore, be assumed that the soldier's income and advantages have, on the whole, kept pace with the general improvement in wages. Indeed, ever since Lord Howick became Secretary at War, in 1835, there has been a gradual improvement in the pay, the prospects, and the comfort of the soldier, presenting a striking contrast to the state of depression under which he previously laboured, and which must ever induce a grateful recollection of the measures originated by his lordship, and since so ably followed by his successors, particularly the late Lord Herbert.

However, it is not merely pay or wages which have to be considered respectively in such a comparison as this, but the necessities of life which these will purchase, and the balance which will in either case remain over for other expenditure, and here the soldier, from the facility of buying in the cheapest market and usually in large quantities, has a still further advantage as may be seen from the following scale of the usual diet and cost in an infantry regiment stationed at Aldershot :—

| Daily. | d. | Actual Cost. d. | Reduced Cost to Soldiers. d. |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 lb. of bread | | 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ } | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of meat | 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ per lb. = | 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ } | |
| $\frac{1}{8}$ of an oz. of tea..... | } | 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| 2 oz. of sugar | | | |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ „ coffee | | | |
| $\frac{1}{8}$ „ pepper | | | |
| $\frac{1}{2}$ „ salt | | | |
| $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of bread extra | | | |
| Vegetables, potatoes, and milk, actual cost..... | | | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ |

This, with one half-penny a-day for washing, and about one penny for repairs and keeping up his supply of under clothing, makes a total expenditure of 9*d.* per day for the infantry soldier, and leaves about 4*d.* a-day to save or expend as he may think proper, after all his necessary wants have been provided.

The expenditure for similar items by an adult agricultural labourer, is not given in any of Mr. Purdy's tables; the statements there are usually framed on the expenditure for a man, his wife, and several children, but from these it would appear that so far at least as regards the more expensive items of animal food, tea, coffee, sugar, &c., the soldier gets more for himself alone than the agriculturist for himself, his wife, and three or four children, and that the outlay of the latter has to be confined to the cheaper supplies of bread, cheese, milk, and potatoes, or oatmeal. Even with that restriction, little or nothing appears to remain over to contrast with the soldier's surplus of nearly half a crown per week, and which increases 7*d.* per week every five years, provided his conduct is satisfactory.*

In this comparison I have left out of view the opportunities which the soldier has of advancing himself in his profession by superior intelligence, steadiness, and training, which, supposing even that they gain for him no higher rank than that of a non-commissioned officer, may double both pay and pension. Opportunities of bettering his condition may no doubt also present themselves occasionally to the agricultural labourer; but I apprehend that these are likely to be much more rare than in the army, owing to the obstacle which constant occupation in agricultural life presents to further improvement so soon as boys can by daily labour contribute even in the smallest degree to their subsistence. The large portion of the soldier's time, however, which it is difficult to occupy in pursuits purely professional, not only affords ample leisure to qualify himself for promotion, but often induces him to study merely as a resource against the dull routine of his life in quarters. To soldiers thus

* The large sums paid into the regimental savings banks, as reported annually to Parliament, afford sufficient evidence that this surplus is, in many instances, accumulated by the soldier. How rarely has the agricultural labourer any similar balance at his bankers!

disposed the schoolroom is always available, with instructors competent to advance them in any branch of common elementary knowledge they may wish to cultivate; suitable libraries also are provided, affording facilities for attainments either professional or otherwise, which no agricultural labourers can possibly look forward to.

To afford some idea of the prizes thus brought within the reach of any industrious or intelligent soldier, however great may have been the defects of his education originally, it is only necessary to refer to the following summary, showing, according to the estimates of the year 1862-63, the numbers below the rank of commissioned officer who are in receipt of pay considerably beyond that of private.

| Total Number in the Army. | Ranks. | Total Annual Pay to this Class. | Average Annual Pay to each. | Range of Daily Pay. | |
|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| | | £ | £ | s. d. | s. d. |
| 582 | Regimental serjeant-major.... | | | | |
| | Troop or company „ | 34,847 | 60 | 2 8 | to 5 - |
| | Quartermaster serjeants..... | | | | |
| 1,182 | Colour and company serjeants | 54,569 | 46 | 2 6 | „ 3 4 |
| 1,387 | Staff serjeants, orderly room clerks, serjeant instructors of musquetry, bandmasters, &c., master gunners | 73,963 | 53½ | 2 2 | „ 3 11 |
| 6,006 | Serjeants | 246,972 | 40 | 2 - | „ 3 - |
| 147 | Trumpet, drum, and bugle major | 5,877 | 40 | 2 - | „ 3 - |
| 7,659 | Corporals and bombardiers | 218,071 | 28½ | 1 4 | „ 2 4 |
| about 4,000 | Serjeant-majors and quartermaster serjeants of militia and yeomanry, &c., on permanent pay | 150,000 | 37½ | 2 - | — |
| 20,963 | | | | | |

As the number of privates in the army from whom these superior ranks are selected was in the same year 116,492, it follows that between 1 in 5 and 1 in 6 of the whole must attain one or other of these rates of pay, the lowest of which is from 1s. 4d. to 2s. 4d. per day, with beer money of 1d. a-day, superior clothing, lodging, and other advantages, besides nearly double the pension of a private.

These chances of promotion do not include those which occur in that portion of the army in the East Indies, amounting to about one-third of the whole, but as the proportion of the higher grades to privates is much the same in that country as in the colonies and at home, it would not have materially affected the results had the calculation been extended to them.

I have also left out of consideration the chance of ultimate pro-

motion to the rank of a commissioned officer, because though that is by no means uncommon, particularly during a period of active warfare, or when large augmentations to the army take place, it may be doubtful whether the change does not deteriorate rather than advance the pecuniary interests of the person promoted, as may be seen by the following summary of the relative position of a serjeant-major before and after such promotion :—

| | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| His pay as serjeant-major of infantry, including beer money, per day is | — | 3 | 3 | |
| All his clothing and equipments are provided free. | | | | |
| His diet, consisting of breakfast, dinner, and tea, costs..... | — | 10 | ½ | |
| Remains for personal expenditure as serjeant-major | 2 | 4 | ½ | |
| | | | 3 | 3 |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
| But when promoted, his pay is raised to 5 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per day, less about 2 <i>d.</i> for mess and band fees, leaving only..... | — | 5 | 1 | |
| And he has to keep up his equipments and clothing, costing at the very least 20 <i>l.</i> a-year, or daily | 1 | 1 | | |
| And the cheapest rate of officer's messing known in the army would cost for breakfast and dinner..... | 2 | 6 | | |
| | | | 3 | 7 |
| Leaves for personal expenditure as ensign | 1 | 6 | | |
| | | | 5 | 1 |
| | | | | <hr/> |

Thus, even supposing that he never drank wine or joined in any of the other expenses of a mess, he would be considerably out of pocket by his promotion, besides having to support the rank of a gentleman in the new position to which he had attained.

Unless, therefore, when an appointment as adjutant, quartermaster, or musketry instructor, can be combined with his rank of ensign, which does not often happen, the promotion tends rather to deteriorate than improve the income of a serjeant, a reason which will sufficiently account for the numbers who decline such promotion, and for my not founding upon the prospect of it as any advantage which will admit of calculation. In fact the position of the non-commissioned officer has been so much improved of late years as to render the attainment of the commissioned ranks less an object than it once was.

These prospects of promotion, however, would be of little avail if ample opportunities were not afforded to all ranks to qualify themselves for attaining it; perhaps, therefore, with the view of showing how much is done by the Government in this respect, it may be useful to submit the following summary of the staff employed and yearly expenses incurred for educational purposes, irrespective altogether of what may be considered professional or scientific :—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|--------|----|----|
| 3 Assistant Inspectors of schools in Great Britain and Ireland } at 500 <i>l.</i> a-year each | 1,500 | — | — |
| 3 Local Inspectors on the Mediterranean, at 3 <i>s.</i> a-day | 164 | 5 | — |
| 266 trained schoolmasters, each averaging 80 <i>l.</i> a-year | 21,097 | — | — |
| 33 acting „ at from 1 <i>s.</i> to 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> a-day | 684 | — | — |
| For detachment „ and soldier assistants | 576 | 2 | 6 |
| 71 pupil teachers, at from 4 <i>l.</i> to 17 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> a-year each | 388 | — | — |
| 154 permanent orderlies, at 1 <i>s.</i> a-week each | 404 | 6 | — |
| 170 pensioners acting as librarians | 2,500 | — | — |
| Travelling and contingent expenses of assistant inspectors and others | 800 | — | — |
| Apparatus for illustrating lectures | 400 | — | — |
| Repairs of school books 200 <i>l.</i> , of library books 500 <i>l.</i> | 700 | — | — |
| For regimental libraries and reading rooms of royal artillery and } royal engineers | 540 | — | — |
| Expense of schools for royal artillery and royal engineers | 3,000 | — | — |
| „ normal and model schools at Chelsea | 4,000 | — | — |
| Proportionate cost of education for the forces in India, not } included in the army estimates supposed about | 18,000 | — | — |
| | 54,753 | — | — |
| Add for barrack allowances, clothing, rations, and pensions to } those employed, say | 15,000 | — | — |
| Total | 69,753 | — | — |

Or in round numbers 70,000*l.* a-year.

This is a large sum to be provided by the State, even if all the soldiers in the army availed themselves of the opportunities of education which it affords, but as the average number in daily attendance was, according to the Report of the Council of Education for 1862, only 17,633 together with 6,131 grown boys and girls, it follows that the average cost of each person instructed cannot be less than 3*l.* per annum, which is exactly double the cost of the education of each pupil in inspected schools in civil life, and treble the cost in uninspected schools, as shown in a paper read before this Society by Mr. Horace Mann, on 4th March, 1862. The education even of the girls is not forgotten in the army, as will be seen by the following summary of the expenses incurred in their account.

| | £ |
|---|--------|
| For 226 trained schoolmistresses | 5,980 |
| „ 57 acting „ | 946 |
| „ charge for training „ | 400 |
| „ the purchase of industrial materials | 1,500 |
| | 8,826 |
| Add about one-third more for similar expenses on account of the } regiments in India, not appearing in the army estimates, say | 2,942 |
| Total | 11,768 |

This being for the education of 2,691 grown and 3,005 infant girls, as shown by the Report of the Council of Military Education,

would make the rate for each about 2*l.* per annum, or considerably beyond the usual cost for the education of female children not in the army.

Perhaps I may be excused this little digression about the education of the soldier, at a time when so much attention is being paid to the subject in civil life, were it only to show that if a large proportion of our army remain in a state of ignorance which completely precludes their sharing in the extra pay and advantages derived from promotion, it is entirely their own fault. According to the latest returns from the Adjutant-General, published by the Council of Education, it appears, that notwithstanding the pains taken of late to train a class of schoolmasters very superior to those who could be procured some years ago for that appointment 18·9 per cent. of the privates are still unable to read or write, and 19·7 can read but not write, being a total of 38 per cent. who are quite precluded from rising in their profession, though Government has afforded them sufficient means of improvement to do so without any expense on their part. According to the returns of 1860, too, this state of matters is not improving, the numbers reported as uneducated being greater than three years before, except in the Artillery and Foot Guards.

If any reason can be given for this, I apprehend it may be sought for in the circumstance that when an increase of pay could only be attained by promotion or service for the long period of 14 years, the private soldier was disposed to take more trouble to qualify himself for a higher position; in order thereby to add to his comforts, but now when his good-conduct pay may begin after three years, and go on increasing to 5*d.* or 6*d.* a-day, he finds his income sufficient for the most pressing of his wants, and is not disposed to add to the amount, if it involves a necessity for going to school again. If that explanation can be accepted, it would appear worthy of consideration whether the increase of 1*d.* per day at the end of three years, should be made contingent—not on good conduct merely, but on the soldier having acquired within that time the first principles of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that before every successive addition of 1*d.* per day for good conduct, it should be ascertained that he has at least retained his original acquirements. In the progress of time the beneficial influence of a large proportion of the good conduct men in the discipline of a regiment, must otherwise be in a great measure lost, so few of them being qualified for promotion beyond the rank of private.

It might have proved interesting here to contrast military pay with the rate of agricultural wages in other countries, but even had time admitted of this, there is a peculiarity in the constitution of the armies of nearly every State on the Continent, which must have

affected the results too deeply for much reliance to have been placed on them. Happily in our country military service is entirely voluntary, none need engage in it except from the conviction that it is likely in some way or other to improve his position, so that the rate of pay has to be regulated accordingly, but in other countries the conscription determines who must become soldiers, and the Government has to expend such an amount only as will clothe, feed, and lodge them, and provide a surplus of about a half-penny per day of pocket money to each. From this obligation of service the recruit has no escape, however high may be the wages in civil life, except by providing a substitute at a cost which even now, when France is at peace, amounts to 2,300 francs, or 92*l.* sterling.

It is true that this amount is not paid by every conscript, the proportion able to provide substitutes rarely exceeding one-fourth, but as in France none can be had under that rate, it must be held to represent the difference between the average value of the conscript's labour at his own calling and his pay as a soldier, and that difference extended over the 100,000 conscripts required annually, would amount to about 9,200,000*l.*, which the French nation thus obviously pays either in money or money's-worth for its army, beyond what appears in the estimates of that nation. In other words, 13*l.* is thus abstracted from every conscript during each of the seven years he has to serve, in the value of his forced labour.

The greater share of the military expenditure of that country is thus made to fall—not on the rich, who are best able to afford it, and are generally most interested in the issue of any contest warranting an appeal to arms,—but on the poor, whose labour is the sole capital for the support of themselves and their families, and who take comparatively little interest in the objects at stake. In Britain we have the pleasing contrast, not only that it falls chiefly on those who are best able to bear the burden, but that in the present day none have to serve in the army except those who voluntarily enlist; and I trust the facts submitted this evening to the Society will be sufficient to show that when they do so their position and prospects are decidedly superior to what they are likely to have been had they continued to earn their livelihood by agricultural pursuits.
